

December 27, 2012

VIA COURIER

Anthony Herman
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

Re:

Matter Under Review 6692 (Romney for President, Inc.)

Matter Under Review 6692 (Ryan for Congress)

Dear Mr. Herman:

On behalf of Romney for President, Inc. ("RFP") and its Treasurer, Darrell Crate, jointly with Ryan for Congress ("RFC") and its Treasurer, Paul J. Mair, we write in response to the Complaint filed by the Democratic Party of Wisconsin and assigned MUR 6692. This Response is submitted in addition to the separate Response from Ryan for Congress, which is enclosed.

RFP has no additional information to add to RFC's Response. RFP and RFC each properly paid for the 2012 Republican National Convention expenses related to their respective Committees. Neither RFP nor RFC co-mingled any expenditures as alleged in the Complaint. RFP did not accept, and RFC did not transmit, a contribution between the committees. Consequently, this Complaint is without merit and should be dismissed.

Sincerely,

Kathryn Biber, RFP General Counsel

Kathupklen

l'imothy E. Kronquist, Counsel for RFC

Enclosures

Romney for President, Inc. | P.O. Box 149756, Boston, MA 02114-9756 | MITTROMNEY.COM

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December 20, 2012

Anthony Herman, Esq.
Office of General Counsel
Federal Election Commission
999 E Street, NW
Washington, DC 20463

Re: Matter Under Review 6692 (Ryan for Congress)

Dear Mr. Herman,

This Response is submitted by the undersigned counsel on behalf of Ryan for Congress (RFC), in response to the complaint filed by The Democratic Party of Wisconsin (DPW), and designated as Matter Under Review 6692.

DPW contends that RFC's 2012 Republican National Convention (Convention) expenses were improperly characterized as RFC expenses. This legal conclusion, however, is based on nothing more than the acknowledged fact that Congressman Ryan's Congressional Campaign made disbursements for expenses incurred at the Convention. The Complainant provides no evidence whatsoever that actually shows that any RFC disbursements were made, used, or transferred to any other campaign committee. Rather, the Complainant simply asserts that "these were expenses clearly meant to promote Mr. Ryan's candidacy for Vice President:"

Both Ryan for Congress and Romney For President were fully aware of legal requirements pertaining to the proper payment of campaign expenses. The Complainant either fails to acknowledge, or is unaware, that Romney for President did in fact reimburse RFC for expenses incurred at the Tampa Marriott Waterside that were attributable to activities in furtherance of the Presidential Campaign.

As is more fully explained below, RFC funds were properly and exclusively used for the benefit of Congressman Ryan's Congressional Campaign, and that Committee fully complied with all relevant legal obligations. This Complaint should be quickly dismissed.

L Applicable Legal Standard and Commission Precedent

FEC regulations address this situation in which an individual runs for more than one federal office at a time. Specifically, 11 CFR 110.8(d)(1) requires "an individual [who] is a candidate for more than one Federal office . . . [to] designate separate principal campuign committees and establish completely separate campaign organizations." Further, "[n]o funds, goods, or services, including loans and loan guarantees, may be transferred between or used by the separate campaigns, except as provided in 11 CFR 110.3(c)(5)." 11 CFR 110.8(d)(2). The Commission's previous treatment of applicable regulations makes clear that RFC is in full compliance with the law. See Advisory Opinion 1995-3 (Gramm) at 2 ("The Act and Commission regulations contemplate that a person may maintain concurrent candidacies for two separate Federal offices. . . . Commission regulations allow dual campaigns to share personnel and facilities as long as expanditures are allocated between the two compaigns and payments made from each campaign account reflect the allocation.").

The Commission has repeatedly "reaffirm[ed] its long-standing opinion that candidates have wide discretion over the use of campaign funds." Further, it is also well-established that campaign funds may be used for expenses incurred in connection with activities in furtherance of that campaign or that are undertaken by campaign representatives performing important functions related to that campaign or a candidate's duties as a Federal officeholder. See, e.g., Advisory Opinions 1996-20 (Lucas), 1996-19 (Walsh), and 1995-47 (Underwood). In Advisory Opinion 1996-20 (Lucas), the Commission concluded that the campaign committee of a Federal officeholder may pay convention travel and cubsistence expenses of the officeholder's congressional chief of staff because he would perform "important functions related to" the campaign as well as "functions that relate to [the candidate's] duties as a Federal officeholder." AO 1996-20 (Lucas) at 2. These "important functions" included raising contributions, procuring vendor services for campaign functions, liaison activities with congressional office staff, and attendance at policy briefings. *Id*.

In Advisory Opinion 1996-19 (Walsh), the Commission explained that a candidate's campaign committee may pay travel and subsistence expenses of the candidate's wife and children for various activities that the candidate stated would "enhance [his] re-election effort" and that were "in furtherance of [his] campaign for reelection." AO 1996-19 (Walsh) at 2. The activities contemplated by the Commission included attendance and representation of the candidate at receptions, press conferences, and fundraising events and meetings for the purpose

¹ Final Rule on Personal Use of Campaign Funds, 60 Prd. Reg. 7862, 7867 (February 9, 1995). The Commission specifically explained that travel and subsistence expenses may be paid from campaign funds where "the candidate can reasonably show that the expenses at issue resulted from campaign or officeholder activities..." *Id.*

5

of "maintain[ing] contacts and goodwill" with potential contributors and communicating with constituents about the campaign. *Id.* The Commission reached the same conclusion in Advisory Opinium 1995-47 (Underwood) where the candidate explained that his wife's attendance at similar convention events was "important" to the campaign and that it would "enhance [his] re-election effort." AO 1995-47 (Underwood) at 3.

Further, the Commission previously recognized that federal officeholders who attend a national convention have various responsibilities and obligations, and that attending to these responsibilities and obligations is a proper use of campaign funds. See AO 1996-20 (Lucas) at 3 ("The Commission notes that you will be attending the convention as a delegate, that you are an officeholder, and that, due to the purpose and nature of a national party convention, there will be meetings and activities aimed at supporting the purty's presidential nominee. Since it is expected that a person who attends the convention as a dulagate and officeholder would participate in such meetings and activities as a natural extension of such status, the activities of you and your [Chief of Staff] with respect to your function in the Dole campaign will not result in a contribution by the Lucas Committee to the Dole campaign.").

The use of RFC funds in furtherance of Congressman Ryan's Congressional Campaign was entirely permissible and consistent with the "wide discretion" afforded to a candidate's use of campaign funds. The Complainant has provided no evidence that any RFC funds were misused or improperly spent.

II. "Renson To Believe" Stundard

The Commission previously explained:

The Commission will make a determination of 'no reason to believe' a violation has occurred when the available information does not provide a basis for proceeding with the matter. The Commission finds 'no reason to believe' when the complaint, any response filed by the respondent, and any publicly available information, when taken together, fail to give rise to a reasonable inference that a violation has occurred, or even if the allegations were true, would not constitute a violation of the law. For example, a 'no reason to believe' finding would be appropriate when:

- A violative has been alloged, but the respondent's response or other evidence convincingly demonstrates that no violation has occurred;
- A complaint alleges a violation but is either not credible or is so vague that an investigation would be effectively impossible; or
- A complaint fails to describe a violation of the Act.

Statement of Policy Regarding Commission Action in Matters at the Initial Stage in the Enforcement Process, 72 Fed. Reg. 12,545, 12,546 (March 16, 2007).

"Reason to believe' is a threshold determination that by itself does not establish that the law has been violated. In fact, 'reason to believe' determinations indicate only that the Commission found sufficient legal justification to open an investigation to determine whether there is probable cause to believe that a violation of the Act has occurred." Statement of Reasons of Commissioners Bauerly and Weintraub in MUR 6056 (Protect Colorado Jobs, Inc.) at 2.

"In order for the Commission to determine that a complaint provides a reason to believe a violation occurred, the complainant, under penalty of perjury, must provide specific facts from reliable sources that a respondent fails to adequate refute." Statement of Reasons of Vice Chairman Petersen and Commissioners Hunter and McGahn in MUR 6056 (Protect Colorado Jobs, Inc.) at 6.

"Unwarranted legal conclusions from asserted facts ..., or mere speculation ... will not be accepted as true. In addition, while credibility will not be weighed in favor of the complainant or the respondent, a complaint may be dismissed if it consists of factual allegations that are refuted with sufficiently compelling evidence provided in the response to the complaint ... [P]urely speculative charges, especially when accompanied by a direct refutation, do not form an adequate basis to find reason to believe that a violation of the FECA has occurred."

Statement of Reasons of Commissioners Mason, Sandstrom, Smith, and Thomas in MUR 4960 (Hillary Clinton) at 2-3.2 "[M]ere 'official quelouity' will not suffice as the basis for FEC investigations." FEC v. Machinists Non-Partisan League, 655 F.2d 380, 388 (D.C. Cir. 1981).

"[U]nder the Act, before making a reason to believe determination, the Commission must assess both the law and the credibility of the facts alleged. To do so, the Commission must identify the sources of information and examine the facts and reliability of those sources to determine whether they 'reasonably [give] rise to a belief in the truth of the allegations presented.' Only once this standard is met may the Commission investigate whether a violation occurred." Statement of Reasons of Vice Chair Hunter and Commissioners McGahn and Petersen in MUR 6296 (Kenneth Buck) at 5-6

² See also Statement of Reasons of Vice Chair Hunter and Commissioners McGain and Petersen in MUR 6296 (Kennath Buck) at 6 ("As in MUR 4960 (Hillary Clinton), the complaint in this matter lacked specific facts to establish that Buck, his authorized committee, and Morgensen violated the Act. Instead, the complaint was based 'upon information and belief,' a phrase that appears at least once on every page. None of the allegations were based on personal knowledge and, with two exceptions, the complaint does not identify any source for its allegations, credible or otherwise. Moreoever, Respondents sufficiently refuted the factual allegations made in the complaint. Thus, the Commission is required under the statute and its own regulations to find no reason to believe Respondents violated the Act.").

As is discussed in more detail below, DPW's allegations warrant a "no reason to believe" finding and should be dismissed. The information that DPW would characterize as evidence is nothing more than citation to the expanses incorred by RFC for hotel rooms. DPW spatialtes that this amount alone supports their allegation of improper use of RFC funds.

III. RFC's 2012 National Convention Expenses

Congressman Ryan's availability to personally attend formal and informal Convention events and receptions with Wisconsin delegates, his constituents, and other national and prominent Republican supporters, policy-makers, and commentators in support of his congressional campaign was severely limited not only by the rigors of his vice presidential campaign duties but also by Secret Service detail constraires. As a resuit, RFC relied heavily on RFC staff and veluencers to angage in significant activities in furtherance, and on behalf of, Congressman Ryan's campaign for re-election to the U.S. House of Representatives.

The Commission has been clear in stating that campaign funds may be used for expenses incurred in connection with activitles in furtherance of that campaign or that are undertaken by campaign representatives performing important functions related to that campaign or a candidate's duties as a Federal officeholder. See Advisory Opinions 1996-20 (Lucas) at 2 (permitting campaign committee payment for performance of "important campaign functions" and "functions that relate to [] duties as a Federal officeholder."); 1996-19 (Walsh) at 2 (permitting campaign committee payment for performance of "netivities that are in furtherance of" and that would "enhance [the camiidate's] re-election effort."); and 1995-47 (Underwood) at 3 (permitting campaign committee payment for performance of "activities that are in furtherance of" and that would "anhance [the candidate's] re-election effort."). Further, candidates are afforded "wide discretion" in determining campaign related expenses. Final Rule on Personal Use of Campaign Funds, 60 Fed. Reg. at 7867.

DPW's position reats entipely on its assertion that "[i]t studies credulity to believe thist twenty mome paid for by [RFC] at the [] Convention were expended solely to promote the relection of Mr. Ryan to the House of Representatives." Complaint at 2. Without providing any factual or logical bridge to a conclusion, DPW states that these hotel expenses were "clearly meant to promote Congressman Ryan's candidacy fair Vice President." Id. Both assertions are simply unsupported conclusions. The Complaint does not identify any transactions that it believes were "clearly meant to promote Congressman Ryan's candidacy for Vice President" or otherwise provide any support for its legal conclusions.

In addition, the Complainant does not acknowledge that Romney for President appropriately reimbursed RFC for certain costs that were initially incurred by RFC. RFC's

Amended 2012 October Quarterly Report reflects that RFC received \$2,768.38 from Romney for President on September 29, 2012. RFC Amended 2012 October Quarterly Report at 1205 (relevant pages attached). The notation below this itemized receipt reads: "Reimbursed/ room paid to Marriott Waterside." Id. As explained by RFC's Treasurer, this reimbursement "in an accurate reflection of the extent to which [Romney for President] made use of RFC's Tampa Marriott Waterside accommedation in furtherance of the Presidential Campaign." Affidavit of Paul J. Mair (attached). Thus, both RFC and Romney for President were aware of their obligation to use each campaign's funds for expenses incurred in furtherance of that particular campaign. Further, the accounting practices of each committee evidence full comprehension of and compliance with applicable regulations. See Advisory Opinion 1995-3 (Gramm) at 2 ("Commission regulations tilow dual campaigns to share personnel and facilities as long as expenditures are allocated between the two campaigns and payments made from each campaign account reflect the allocation.").

The Complaint also cites an online piece in a blog, *Politicker.com*, that was obviously the basis for this Complaint. The legal conclusions offered in the Complaint echo the quoted comments of Jerry Goldfeder, a well-known *Democratic* campaign finance and election attorney. Based on the same limited facts alleged in the Complaint, Mr. Goldfeder offered his opinion that "It sounds as if he used congressional campaign funds for national campaign purposes and that's highly problematic." http://politicker.com/2012/10/paul-ryan-campaign-money/, (October 25, 2012) (Politicker Article) at 3. Mr. Goldfeder is certainly free to assist bloggers in creating pieces to serve as FEC complaint fodder, but it summs fairly obvious that his opinion in this matter was not fally informed. Complaint at 1, 2 citing Politicker Article.

The Politicker piece claims that "[t]he vast majority of Mr. Ryan's convention spending does not seem to be related to these [RFC] events." Politicker Article at 2. Whether the reported disbursements in question were "related" to two formal events is entirely irrelevant. RFC was not limited to spending funds solely and directly on two announced events, and the Complainant does not identify a single improper transaction. Rather, the Complainant essentially asks the Commission to investigate the matter in the hopes that an actual violation will emerge. Needless to say, this is not how the complaint process works.

The Complaint also ruferences an RFC spokesman's comment that rooms reserved at the Marriott were to accommodate those winning to see Congressman Ryan's keynote address and that hotel policy required a five-night minimum stay. Assuming this was the case for some individuals who attended, Congressman Ryan gave his keynote address at the Convention while he was a sitting Member of Congress simultaneously running for re-election to that position. Campaigns are entirely free to spend funds on their supporters in a manner that is related to the campaign. And, as noted above, the Complainant has not provided any "specific facts"

demonstrating that any of these persons performed any work or services for the Romney-Ryan presidential campaign. Further, Romney for President's reimbursement for its use of RFC-reserved accommodation at the Tampa Marriott Waterside clearly shows that these campaigns were aware of, and in full compliance with, their individual obligations.

<u>V.</u> <u>Conclusion</u>

DPW's complaint is based entirely on speculation and should be dismissed as soon as reasonably possible.

Sincerely,

Jason Torchinsky Michael Bayes

Christopher Winkelman

Counsel to Ryan for Congress

Enclosures: Affidavit of Paul J. Mair

RFC Amended October 2012 Quarterly Report (relevant pages only)

(Revised 02/2003)

FEC FORM 3

Only-

FESANO18

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

REGEIVER

2012 DEC 28 PL 1: 05 For An Authorized Committee NAME OF TYPE OR PRINT ▼ Example: If typing, type COMMITTEE (in full) over the lines. Ryan for Congress PO Box 1488 ADDRESS (number and street) Check if different than previously reported. (ACC) Janesville 53547-1488 ZIP CODE STATE 2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER Y CITY STATE ▼ DISTRICT C00330894 AMENDED 3. IS THIS ŅEW REPORT (A) 4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One) (b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the: (a) Quarterly Reports: Primary (12P) General (12G) Runoff (12R) April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1) Convention (120) Special (125) July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2) in the October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3) Election on State of January 31 Year-End Report (YE) (c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the: General (30G) Runoff (30R) Special (30S): Termination Report (TER) State of Election on 26 2012 **Covering Period** through I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete. Type or Print Name of Treasurer Paul J Mair 11 30 2012 Date Signature of Treasurer Paul J Mair [Electronically Filed] NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g. Office **FEC FORM 3** Use

Γ	•	FEC Form 3 (Revised 02/2003)	SUMMARY PAGE of Receipts and Disbursements	PAGE 2 / 1284
		or Type Committee Name In for Congress		
Re	port	Covering the Period: From:	07 28 7 2012 To	00 30 7 2012 Y
	•••		COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date
6.	Net	Contributions (other than loans)		
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	(b)	Total Contribution Refunds (from Line 20(d))	5000	8725
	(c)	Net Contributions (other than loans) (subtract Line 6(b) from Line 6(c))	455081.79	4897576.18
	Net	Operating Expenditures		
	(a)	Total Operating Expenditures (from Line 17)	1876398.44	3845901.85
	(b)	Total Offsets to Operating Expenditures (from Line 14)	0	1507.64
	(c)	Net Operating Expenditures (subtract Line 7(b) from Line 7(a))	1876398.44	3844304.21
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			For further information contact:	
			Federal Election Commission 999 E Street, NW Washington, DC 20463	
			Toll Free 800-424-9530	

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FEC Form 6 (Payland 10,000)	DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE of Receipts	PAGE 3/1284				
FEC Form 3 (Revised 12/2003) Write or Type Committee Name						
Ryan for Congress						
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Report Covering the Period: From:	M M / D D / V Y Y T V T V TO:	ор 30 / 2012				
I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date				
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FRO	DM:					
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than						
Political Committees	315155.98	2893501.23				
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)						
(ii) Unitemized		641899.95				
(iii) TOTAL of contributions from Individuals	315155.98	3535401.18				
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(b) Political Party Committees	" made and the first three beautiful to the state of the					
(auch as PACs)	144905.81	1170900				
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12. TRANSFERS FROM OTHER	0	158504.57				
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(Refunds, Rebates, etc.)		1507.64				
15. OTHER RECEIPTS						
(Dividends, Interest, etc.)	5583.23	:38692.08				

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FESAND18

16. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines 11(e), 12, 13(o), 14, and 15) (Carry Total to Line 24, page 4)............

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE of Disbursements

FEC Form 3 (Revised 02/2003)

PAGE 4/1264

II. DISBURSEMENTS		COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date			
17.	OPERATING EXPENDITURES	1876398.44	3845901.85			
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	(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS					
	(add Lines 20(a), (b), and (c))	5000	8725			
		0	111000			
21.	OTHER DISBURSEMENTS		The state of the s			
22.	TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add Lines 17, 18, 19(c), 20(d), and 21)	1881398.44	3965626.85			
	III. CASH SU	JMMARY				
23.	CASH ON HAND AT BEGINNING OF REPO	RTING PERIOD	5418413.79			
24	TOTAL RECEIPTS THIS PERIOD (from Line	465845.02				
	SUBTOTAL (add Line 23 and Line 24)	5884058.81				
25.		26. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS THIS PERIOD (from Line 22)				
		om Line 22)	1881398.44			
		om Line 22)	1881398.44			
26.		IG PERIOD	1881398.44 4002660:37			

SCHEDULE A (FEC Form 3)		Use separate schedule(s) for each catagory of the Detailed Summary Page	FOR LINE NUMBER: PAGE 1205 OF 1284. (check only one)
TEMIZED RECEIPTS			11a 11b 110 11d
			12 13a 13b 14 × 15
Any information copied from such Reports and or for commercial purposes, other than using the	Statements ne name and	nay not be sold or used by any address of any political committee.	person for the purpose of soliciting contributions. se to solicit contributions from such committee.
NAME OF COMMITTEE (In Full) Ryan for Congress			
Full Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Waukesha State Bank	Date of Receipt		
Mailing Address 151 E Saint Paul Avenue	07 31 2012		
City.	State	Zip Code	Transaction ID:: A-M114822
Waukesha	WI	53188-3701	
FEC ID number of contributing federal political committee.	C.		Amount of Each Fleeshit this Period
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Receipt For: 2012	Election C	Cycle-to-Date	
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Füll Name (Last, First, Middle Initial) Commercial Bank			Date of Receipt
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STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

Please uselene form for each respondent

MUR:

6692 (Ryan for Congress)

NAME OF COUNSEL:

Jason Torchinsky

Michael Bayes

Christopher Winkelman

FIRM:

HOLTZMANVOGELJOSEFIAK PLLC

ADDRESS:

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Warrenton, VA 20186

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(540) 341-8808

FAX:

(540) 341-8809

The above-named individuals are hereby designated as my counsel and are authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

> Paul J. Mair **Print Name**

Respondents' Name:

Ryan for Congress

Address:

PO Box 1488

Janesville, WI 53547

Business:------(-540-)-341_--8808

STATEMENT OF DESIGNATION OF COUNSEL

Please use one form for each respondent

MUR:

6692 (Ryan for Congress)

NAME OF COUNSEL:

Jason Torchinsky

Michael Bayes

Christopher Winkelman

FIRM:

HOLTZMANVOGELJOSEFIAK PLLC

ADDRESS:

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(540) 341-8808

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The above-named individuals are hereby designated as my counsel and are authorized to receive any notifications and other communications from the Commission and to act on my behalf before the Commission.

Paul J. Mair Print Name

Date Signatur

Treasurer, Ryan for Congress

Title

Respondents' Name:

Paul J. Mair

Address:

PO Box 1488

Janesville, WI 53547

Businėss:-----

(_540<u>--)--</u>341<u>------8808</u>